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Pacifism at Amsterdam, by John Nevin Sayre

Invitation to Adventure, by F. P. Walther, Jr.

Preparedness and Profits, by John M. Swomley, Jr.

Primer for Prisoners, by Francis D. Hole

Lucky People, by Walter Gaupp

We Are All Fellow Travelers, by Milton Mayer

THIS MONTH

THE man-bites-dog motif appears this month when Contributor Mayer snaps at the magazine that—to a very limited extent—feeds him, in *We Are All Fellow Travelers*. . . . Nevin Sayre, back from nearly six months in Europe, reports on *Pacifism at Amsterdam*. (Capsule digest: there wasn't much!) . . . Contributor Walther (*Invitation to Adventure*) is a former Unitarian minister, now a "wider Quaker" and an unhappy business executive. . . . Three years spent largely in Washington fighting UMT are the background for John Swomley's eye-opening *Preparedness and Profits*. . . . Sorry, no PRB survey this month. PRB's running out of funds. . . . But there are other things very much worth reading, by Francis Hole and Walter Gaupp.

NEXT MONTH

FELLOWSHIP's editor muses on the spirit of the season, and its possibilities, in a story, *Four Days After Christmas*. You may want to use it at some special services around the holidays. . . . Diderich Lund, a Norwegian pacifist, suggests some lessons to be learned from the experiences of *Pacifism Under the Occupation*. . . . FOR member Floyd Schmoe tells about Japan in *Letter from Fukui* . . . and Culbert J. Rutenber sounds a warning to the Church in *The Christian Faith and the American Scene*.

FELLOWSHIP

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Fellowship
the journal of the fellowship of reconciliation

November, 1948 Vol. XIV—No. 10

Pacifism at Amsterdam

By JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

THE WORLD COUNCIL of Churches' First Assembly was for me an occasion of disappointment and hope, but hope prevailed over disappointment.

All the time that the Assembly was meeting, there were going on in Berlin, Moscow, and London the trial of strength and critical series of discussions where peace or war seemed to hang in the balance. In an early session of the Assembly, John Foster Dulles said, "Christians and non-Christians alike are anxiously looking to what we do here. They hope that we may perhaps show the way of deliverance from the terrible fate that impends."

The seriousness of the situation was underlined by the fact that Ambassador Douglas flew from London to Amsterdam next day for a private conference with Mr. Dulles just before Mr. Dulles took off for New York. Later in the week I had breakfast with an official of the British Occupation in Germany who had come direct from Berlin, and who said to me that if the conversations with Russia broke down he feared the consequence would be war. He believed that the World Council of Churches ought to attempt to send at once its best representatives to London, Washington, Moscow, and Paris to urge upon governments the intense desire of Christians for a just and peaceable settlement of all questions at issue. The Reverend Henry Carter, of Great Britain, proposed a resolution in Section IV of the Assembly embodying this idea. The proposal was passed along without recommendation to the newly appointed Central Committee of the World Council, and was not heard from again.

I believe that the world would have welcomed and been heartened by a forthright deed like this for peace. It may be that at this point the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches missed its historic opportunity.

Another disappointment stemmed from the fact that the churches at Amsterdam in 1948 appeared to have advanced only a little on the issue of pacifism beyond where the churches stood at Oxford in 1937. It might have been expected that after the demonstrations of massacre by bombing and atomic slaughter in the intervening years, the divided mind of the churches on the issue of sanctioning particular wars would have come nearer to unity in rejecting all war.

Some progress was made in this direction. The Bishop of Chichester secured a declaration of the position of a non-pacifist section of the Conference which held that "modern warfare, with its mass destruction, can never be an act of justice," and pacifist delegates got into the record their statement that pacifists "refuse military service of all kinds, convinced that an absolute witness against war and for peace is for them the will of God and they desire that the Church should speak to the same effect." But the rest, probably the majority, rejected both of the above positions in favor of one that asserted "that military action is the ultimate sanction of the rule of law and that citizens must be distinctly taught that it is their duty to defend the law by force if necessary."

Three Way Division

So Amsterdam, like Oxford, had to confess that the Church is a house divided against itself, three ways, on the most burning ethical problem of our time.

No presentation of the pacifist case was included in the official study material prepared for the Conference, nor was any pacifist invited to address any plenary session on this subject. The whole question might have been by-passed, as it was at the Oslo Youth Conference last year, had it not been for the five-minute speeches of a half-dozen pacifist delegates in Commission IV and the agreement of this Commission, which sensed that the issue was burning in the minds of other Conference members, to include in its report a statement of three positions on the attitude of Christians towards war.

Agreement at Many Points

The entire report of Commission IV, which was "received" by the whole Assembly, has many good points but is too long for inclusion in this article. It indicated no division of opinion on the points that war is incompatible with the teaching and example of Jesus Christ, that nationalism ought to be subordinated to the moral law, and that the churches should teach the duty of love to enemies in time of war and peace, oppose attempts of the state to coerce conscience, endeavor to secure an international bill of rights with safeguards for freedom of religion and conscience, and oppose imperialism, the expulsion of minorities, and enforced segregation on grounds of race or color. The report also urged the churches to promote multilateral reduction of armaments and to urge upon governments of countries that were victorious in the late war the speedy making of just peace treaties, the return of war prisoners and the rapid end of trials for war crimes.

Pacifism was not the only matter on which there was deep difference in the minds of the churches at Amsterdam. Karl Barth remarked on the glaring inability of the delegates to join in a common service

of Holy Communion. Nevertheless, some hundreds of delegates from a variety of nations and denominations did partake at one table of the Communion bread and wine in a very impressive Sunday morning service in the New Church. The fact that top-ranking clergymen of leading denominations from Holland, Sweden, France, Germany, England, the United States, Japan, Indonesia, etc., joined in administering the sacrament to possibly 1,000 Christians from all over the globe did symbolize a progress in Christian solidarity for which pacifists should give thanks. There were actually present in the two weeks' Assembly delegated representatives from 148 churches in 43 countries. The General Secretary of the World Council of Churches could truly say:

> We are a fellowship in which the churches after a long period of ignoring each other come to know each other. We are a fellowship in which the churches enter into serious and dynamic conversation with each other about their differences in faith, in message, in order. We are a fellowship in which Christian solidarity is practiced, so that the churches aid their weak or needy sister-churches. We are a fellowship in which common witness is rendered to the Lordship of Christ in all matters in which a common word for the churches and for the world is given to us. We are, above all, a fellowship which seeks to express that unity in Christ already given to us and to prepare the way for a much fuller and much deeper expression of that unity.

One of the immediately urgent tasks presented to the Assembly was service for the world's refugees. The director of the Refugee Division of the World Council, the Reverend Elfan Rees, reported that when the war ended in Europe in 1945 there were nine million displaced persons. Seven million of these have now been returned to their home countries or homes of origin. *But while the relief machinery of the Allied powers was solving one problem, their political machinery was creating another that today has left us with not less than fourteen million refugees.* "This is a larger problem than we inherited from Hitler," said Mr. Rees. Twelve million of these fourteen million refugees, he said, are of German ethnic origin and are mostly squeezed into Germany—"a country which lost half its housing." Because of political pressure, the International Refugee Organization at the time of its formation was precluded from dealing with refugees other than those left by Hitler. Consequently, there are thirteen million refugees which United Nations does not care for. "They languish in camps, overcrowded billets and in despair."

Youth Delegates Meet

While the World Council of Churches was being launched at Amsterdam, 100 youth delegates from 45 countries were simultaneously meeting to plan the role of youth in the ecumenical movement. During the summer more than 600 young people from twelve countries had participated in work camps in Italy, France and Germany, which were sponsored by the Youth Department of the World Council of Churches.

According to a rough reckoning which I made, there were more than eighty pacifists at the Amster-

dam Assembly. The majority of them were not official delegates but consultants, visitors, press reporters and staff members of the World Council. Those who had the right to speak made valuable contributions to the Assembly's work. We held an informal Fellowship of Reconciliation meeting the second Sunday night which 45 members managed to attend. There were speeches by Dr. J. B. Th. Hugenholtz of Holland; Dr. Michio Kozaki of Japan; Allan Brash of New Zealand; F. Siegmund-Schultze of Germany; and Shelton Bishop, Paul Macy and myself from the United States.

If war does not break out between Russia and the West in the next few years, I look for a large increase of pacifism in the churches. I believe that there will be a confluence of ideas and forces that will tend to feed the pacifist stream. Among them might be listed: (1) the influence of younger churches emerging from the missionary movement, (2) the ecumenical overpassing of national barriers and its promotion of intergroup unity, (3) the churches' opposition to totalitarian nationalism with consequent emphasis on the validity of conscientious objection, (4) the disintegrating theory of the "just war," (5) the spread of nonviolence from the impetus of Gandhi and (6) the increasing antithesis between the demonic nature of evolving militarism and the Gospel.

Of course this does not mean that pacifists can afford to slacken their efforts in helping men to a correct interpretation of these trends. Above all it is necessary that we set forth by word and deed the Christian alternative to violence, the positive program of pacifist Christianity for our time. We have to do it in a spirit of peaceful persuasion, confidence and joy. We must work urgently while it is day and before the closing in of night which may come. But we must not fear the night or accept the philosophy of defeatism for one instant. We work for a Master who is Lord of both day and night. We are called to be light-bringers and saviors in our troubled world.

Prayer

Go forth into the world in peace to make peace;
be of good courage; hold fast that which is good;
render to no man evil for evil;
strengthen the faint-hearted; support the weak;
help the afflicted; honor all men;
love and serve the Lord, rejoicing in
the power of the Holy Spirit.
And the blessing of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,
be upon you and remain with you forever.
Amen.

A call to transcend man's time-locked preoccupation with superficialities and accept an

Invitation to Adventure

By FREDERICK P. WALTHER, JR.

DEEP DOWN in every one of us there always is an Inner Light, a divine center to our living. When this Inner Light is revealed, the spiritual dynamic by which we have our being floods us with its transfiguring warmth. For the first time since we were little children, we know the glorious joy of being totally and triumphantly alive. The Inner Light of our lives casts its divine radiance on all that we think and feel and do. The kingdom of God is here: incandescent in this instant. Becoming has been transformed into being. We are living in God, and he in us.

This mystic power to reach beyond the surface of life and become spiritually quickened beings is not something strange or foreign to our nature. Nor is it the peculiar possession only of the Jesus' and St. Francis' and Gandhi's of this world. It is present in every one of us, the divine birthright of every son of man. To understand the truth of this, we need only observe a little child.

Until he is betrayed into time-locked preoccupations with the superficialities of life, every child of man is aware of the transcendence of those unseen things we call spiritual. To little children, Santa Claus and fairies are more sublimely real than are Christmas trees or shiny dimes received for newly lost first teeth; as indeed the visions of human mind, the movements of human heart, which Santa Claus and fairies symbolize, actually are. For how in this present world can either a Christmas tree or a shiny dime occur without the spiritual dynamic that causes each to be?

Yes, every little child is instinctively aware of the transcendence of those unseen things we call spiritual. Every son of man has an inborn sensitivity to the spiritual dynamic out of which he has come and which energizes everything he can see or touch. This awareness, this urgency to reach beyond the surface of life to its Divine Center, are as natural to childhood as are cravings for food and comfort. Their universal, instinctive presence explains Jesus' remark: "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom. . . . "

But as a result of the conditioning influences of the social and political forms within which we spend the greater part of our days, most of us are everlastingly engrossed with the manifestations and responses on the surface of life. We are conditioned into preoccupation with our houses and bank accounts, our bodily appetites and desires, our material interests and temporal concerns. Reality encompasses these things, of course, but it is

not them any more than a tree is the length of its limbs or the feel of its leaves.

To become reacquainted with reality, we need to understand that the dimensions our senses know are manifestations, not creative process, and that the feelings our bodies experience are responses, not energizing principle. Material object and sensate experience exist, of course, but they exist as passing manifestations of and transient response to the creative processes and energizing principles that cause them to be. They are as the limbs and leaves are to the life of a tree. The central presence always and forever is creative process and energizing principle: those unseen things which in their mysterious sum the language of the heart calls God.

Must Rediscover Reality

To know reality, we need to rediscover the spiritual dynamic active all about us. We need to see that the tree is not only its limbs and leaves but also the seed and sap and sunlight, the whole wondrous process by which it has become and is. We need to look at the tree with a vision that penetrates beyond its bark and foliage to these unseen things at the heart of its being. We need to absorb the fundamental truth of Jesus' observation that "not a sparrow falls to the ground without the Father."

But a single such intellectual exercise is not enough for complete reacquaintance with reality. We need also to experience this rediscovery of the divine center at the heart of the life all about us. We need to find "tongues in trees, books in running brooks, and sermons in stones," until the spiritual dynamic at the heart of our own lives reveals itself. For the great promise contained in this conception of reality is that the measure of our rediscovery of the divine center in the life all about us is the measure of its self-revelation within us. Very simply, as we succeed in our practice of the presence of God, our own lives become divinely inspired.

Method Not Important

Different people, of course, will have different ways of undertaking this practice of the presence of God. It does not matter what ways we choose as much as it matters that we choose some ways and that we follow those ways in a disciplined manner. We need to set aside a time each day for trying to see beyond the surface dimensions of a tree or a flower or a snowflake, to the vision of all that is at the heart of its being. We need to devote a few minutes of every day to relearning the art of contemplation through the tutelage of listening to some loved music, reading some precious literary passages, or withdrawing into consecrated silence.

What is important is not which ways we choose to practice the presence of God but that we undertake our chosen ways in a disciplined manner. Just as learning to become a proficient baseball pitcher requires thousands of patiently repeated ball-throwing efforts, our practice of the presence of God needs to be continued faithfully day after day, despite repeated failures, despite the seeming barrenness of our best efforts, despite the many wild pitches.

We need to understand our practice of the presence of God as a lifelong training program and to keep its objective clearly in mind. We are not aiming at the erection

of a number of little compartments into which we can retreat and escape from this present world, in the manner most of us enter into prayer or attend services of religion. Our objective is reacquaintance with reality with such transforming force that we ourselves become spiritually quickened beings.

Since much of our modern thinking and behavior is time-locked, we need also to perceive reality's eternal nature. Reality cannot be found within the mechanics of clocks and calendars, but only in this instant where we everlastingly are: in what Thomas Kelly has so aptly described as the Eternal Now.

Time and Eternity

We need to relearn childhood's simple secret about yesterdays and tomorrows: that they are merely relative and therefore unreal. We need to realize that beginnings and ends are only comparative terms and therefore false. We need to see what every child knows when we try to put him off in regard to some activity urging to be undertaken in this moment: that such behavior is dangerous and deceptive. All that truly is, is this instant where we forever are. The Eternal Now is all that in truth exists. The Father is Eternity, not Time.

If we are fortunate enough to have an intellect that can comprehend Einstein, we know all this as demonstrable science, but it is not necessary thus to understand it. When we were children we knew that Eternity is the Father; and men in all ages have been able to perceive the eternal nature of reality, no matter what their degree of learning may have been. We too can recover this perception if we will only allow the insight to occur.

Let any man step out into the night and surrender himself to the miracle of the starlight which left its heavenly source before Neanderthal Man first appeared on earth and yet is entering his eyes in this instant of beholding. Or let any man simply do what James Martineau has recommended: "Go into silence: strip himself of all pretense . . . lift off thought after thought, passion after passion . . . and contemplate how little he knows except the perpetuity of God and the mysteriousness of life." Let any man do these things and the faces of clocks and calendars will soon vaporize into the mists of Eternity and the instant where he is will vibrate with time-freed meaning.

When we practice the presence of God with appreciation of the eternal nature of reality, the Inner Light deep down in our own lives soon reveals itself and the spiritual dynamic by which we have our being floods us with its transfiguring warmth. Our efforts to reach beyond the surface of life to its divine center are transformed from becoming into being. The sublime visions in our minds of justice, peace, and righteousness, and the sacred movements of our hearts toward truth, beauty and love, quicken our every living moment. Suddenly we are become totally and triumphantly alive. The Central Presence we have been affirming and practicing casts its divine radiance on all that we think and feel and do, and problems of personal behavior and social action no longer baffle us.

Then it is that the import of Jesus' words: "If thou art offering thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee . . . go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother,

then come and offer thy gift," stands out sharp and clear. The only way the brotherhood of man can be made real is through the love we put into action in this instant. There is no tomorrow, no glorious end to be attained out of compromised means. There is only the Eternal Now: this instant where we everlastingly are. The way is simple, single, and present.

Any personal behavior or social action, no matter how persuasively rationalized, which fails to express in this moment of eternity the most sublime visions in our minds and the most sacred movements of our hearts, is utterly unrealistic. Jesus' words: "I say to you, love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you; that you may become the sons of your Father which is in Heaven," take on uncompromising meaning. The only practical course is complete renunciation, personally and socially, of anything and everything that violates the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Jail, and even death to our bodies, is preferable to participating in any way in the destruction of human life and its divine potentialities. The lessons of both the Cross and all of human history become challengingly clear: only when we live in God in each instant that is the Eternal Now, can He live in us.

If our wills are to exert the required effort to release the spiritual dynamic within our beings, we need to see clearly that the inborn invitation waiting within our lives is invitation to adventure of the highest and most dangerous order. We need to realize that penetration through the jungle of this present world to the Eternal Now is no easy undertaking. The way is straight and narrow; and though many are called, but few are chosen. Most will fall somewhere along the way. All will stumble and slip many times. But those who embark upon this adventure and though bruised and battered, rise up again and again, and persevere, will behold the glory of God's kingdom and the joy of becoming as one with him. For this highest and most dangerous of all adventures not only demands all and dares all, but also promises all.

Man's one great difference from all the rest of what makes up the known world, from the rocks and trees and the beasts in the field, lies in his divine birthright: his mystic power to become a spiritually quickened being. Only in man is this invitation to adventure ever-present. Only in man is the spiritual dynamic out of which all has come, self-revealing. Only in man is the Inner Light of life ever-waiting to cast its divine radiance on this living moment which is the Eternal Now. Only in man can the kingdom of God be made incandescent in this instant.

In a word: Only the son of man can undertake the sublime adventure of becoming the son of God; even as did He whom we call Jesus.

Last Call

The year is running out, and with it your chance to help make the 1948 Peace Roll Call a resounding success. If you have not already done so, won't you send for PRC materials?

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Preparedness and Profits

By JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

AMERICAN taxpayers soon will have to pay for the largest peacetime governmental expenditures in our history, the biggest single item of which will be a rearmament program costing about fifteen billions. Approval of this rearmament program, which went beyond the original recommendations of both the President and the armed services, was chiefly responsible for Congressional rejection of federal aid for education, health, and housing.

Long before Congress seriously considered spending so much money, leaders of industry were busy encouraging preparedness. A War Department release on January 11, 1947 began: "Leading manufacturers of military and civil small arms and ammunition have given unanimous backing to a continued industrial preparedness program to keep the United States free from aggression." The release continued: "C. K. Davis, president of Remington Arms Company, presided over a committee representing the leading manufacturers of small arms and ammunition that met in the offices of General Hughes under the sponsorship of the Civilian Army Ordnance Association."

In addition to the Army Ordnance Association, which looks out for industrial needs in the Army field, there are organizations in the naval and aviation industry fields. The Navy Industrial Association exists "to provide mutual understanding between the Navy and industrial concerns of problems of each to the end that such problems can be met through cooperative effort between the Navy and industry." In practice this means that industries which profit from a big Navy work with naval officers to make the public Navy-conscious.

The Aircraft Industries Association along with the Air Force has been active in promoting the cause of air power. An important boost was given to the idea of greater appropriations for air power by the President's Air Policy Commission and by the Congressional Aviation Policy Board. In each Commission aircraft industrial executives, through their testimony or participation as advisers, had a prominent role. There were twelve airline and aircraft executives on the Advisory Council of twenty-four which worked with the Congressional Board.

There were other industrialists on the Council, but only one representative of organized labor. It is not surprising that the President's Commission came to the conclusion that the Air Force should be increased "at once." The Commission Report stated: "A strong aircraft industry is an essential in the nation's air power."

The Congressional Aviation Policy Board decided that the production in 1948 of 64,000,000 air frame pounds was not enough, but should be expanded by 1953 to an annual production of 111,000,000 air frame pounds. The Board's Report stated that "maintenance of a healthy and expandable aircraft industry is required for national security," and added: "Procurement policies of

the Government will determine the financial condition and survival of most companies engaged in making aircraft. Military purchases are 90 percent of total production; therefore stability of the industry depends on wise procurement planning by the armed forces."

When the President's Air Policy Commission Report was published, the United Aircraft Corporation provided for the public "free of charge, a comprehensive summary of the report." United's full-page ad in the *New York Times* endorsing the Commission Report spoke of the Report's "six conclusions on which the peace of the world may depend." Without mentioning aircraft profits, the ad concluded with a comment about the 1949 multi-billion dollar budget: "The annual cost will be high but cheaper than another war."

Armaments and Profits

There are, of course, several reasons for the success of the armaments firms. The international situation and the increased prestige of military men in government are both responsible for rearmament. Another factor is the influence of men who think in terms of investments and production for profit. Secretary of Defense James Forrestal, formerly head of the Wall Street firm of Dillon, Read and Company, has succeeded in appointing a number of big business men to key government positions. Among them are Sidney W. Souers, executive secretary of the National Security Council, formed under the law unifying the armed forces, which in effect controls American foreign policy. Souers is an insurance, textile, and banking executive. Arthur M. Hill, chairman of the National Security Resources Board, is a director of the Greyhound Bus Company; Thomas J. Hargraves, until recently chairman of the Munitions Board, is president of the Eastman Kodak Company. The *Times* pointed out that his company "operated in the last war an RDX explosive plant in Tennessee which employed 8,000 workers. It assumes that should war break out again this task would be reassigned to it." An earlier *Times* story said of Hargraves "He understands the needs of industry. . . . " Hargraves was succeeded on September 20 by D. F. Carpenter, vice president of the Remington Arms Company, simultaneously with the announcement that the Munitions Board was now in a position to prepare an overall industrial mobilization plan against a possible future war.

Another Forrestal appointee is William H. Draper, Under Secretary of the Army, on leave from Dillon, Read and Company. He sets the economic policy of the Army.

Other Business Leaders

In addition to these, other business leaders are working in the Pentagon on a part-time basis. *Business Week* of April 10, 1948 stated that Charles Wilson, president of General Electric, is commuting between New York and a desk in the Pentagon "and Sidney Weinberg who used to round up industrialists for the war agencies, is recruiting again."

Industrial collaboration with the military has been systematized in a well-planned program. The program includes the placing of promising military and naval officers in industry, not only to learn "business practices, methods, and procedures" but also for the "further

ance of friendly relations"[1] between the armed forces and industry.

The *Washington Daily News*[2] reported that "the Army last year placed ten of its best qualified ordnance officers in such businesses as General Electric, Chrysler and General Motors. Their assignments required them in effect to become officials of those firms for periods ranging from nine months to a year." The *News* added: "They'll be replaced this year by another group."

Armed Forces "College"

A second part of the military-industrial program is the regular participation of industrialists in the courses of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces. Typical of the way this program reaches into all parts of the nation is the description in the Rochester, New York, *Times Union*.[3] "The first contingent of Rochester industrialists selected to attend the Industrial College of the Armed Forces to study a plan of economic mobilization to be put into operation in the event of war, was announced by the Rochester Army Advisory Board."

The Industrial College goes on tour with "travelling classrooms" in order to make sure that business executives and reserve officers in all parts of the country are reached. Maj. Gen. E. B. McKinley, Commandant of the College, said: "We want the younger man who will stay at home and run the business to permit the president to serve on the WPB. We are a travelling show. We plan four hours of training a day."[4]

Industrialists are also being asked to serve on military advisory committees. The *New York Times*[5] quoted a government official: "In forming the industry advisory committees, the Army-Navy Munitions Board is harnessing the genius of all American industry to national defense planning. . . . "

As a result of Army-industry cooperation, industrialists seldom if ever oppose military legislation pending in Congress. A typical approach to military legislation is that of the Manufacturing Chemists Association in testimony last April on the draft. After stating that they did not intend "to make a statement in opposition" to the draft, they added: "There is no conflict between the armed forces and industry. In wartime or under the threat of war, industry is as much a branch of the armed forces as the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, or the Marine Corps."

Benefits Both Groups

The collaboration of military and industrial leaders benefits both groups. A large military establishment is maintained with numerous well-paid officers and ample expense accounts for them to use. Industry receives larger profits, and at least for the time being, a recession is prevented.

If there is any doubt about this, one has only to examine the business section of the daily press in the past few months. The July 14, 1948 *New York Times* reported a statement of a spokesman for the National Retail Hardware Association that "the day of large profits with little effort was just about over." The *Times* account continued, "Of course this entire situation

1 *New York Times*, Nov. 7, 1946.
2 January 9, 1948.
3 February 19, 1948.
4 *Washington Daily News*, January 9, 1948.
5 February 25, 1947.

may be changed by the operation of the Marshall Plan and our rearmament program."

Four months before[6] the *Times* had carried on the financial page a headline "Stocks Again Led by Aircraft Group." In the news story was the comment: "Further relief was shown by the market over the tenor of President Truman's message to Congress. If it is necessary for the nation to maintain the top military and naval forces in the world, it was argued, it is hardly possible for any recession in industrial activity to occur."

An article in the March 25 *New York World Telegram* stated: "Stocks turned sharply upward today largely on the strength of Defense Secretary Forrestal's request for a three billion dollar boost in military appropriations."

A *Times* article on May 25, 1948 summarized some of the fields in which industrial orders would be placed as a result of the rearmament program. They include sporting and athletic equipment, photographic supplies, combat ships, textiles, chemicals, clocks, to mention only a few.

It is small wonder that K. T. Keller, President of Chrysler Corporation, should say of such a program: "There will be times when as taxpayers, the cost of maintaining national security through preparedness will seem burdensome and many of us will be tempted to skimp on it. To businessmen, proper expenditures of this sort make sense. They are parallel to expenditures for insurance against fire, theft, and any form of disaster."[7] He could have added that, profitable as preparedness for war is, it has never insured peace.

One of the common criticisms of business-military enthusiasm for a big military budget is its effect on world peace. Not only does it increase tension abroad but it results in fewer efforts on the part of our own government to solve international problems. Business and military leaders know that if the international situation should improve war orders would subside. The false military support would be removed from the business structure. Prices would fall, unemployment would increase, and capitalism would again be put to the test.

Cost of Preparedness

Although preparedness is profitable for the few, it causes suffering for the many, even in relatively prosperous times. The Congressional Aviation Policy Board illustrates the problem in its Report. Speaking of military appropriations, it said: "If the over-all costs cannot be kept down within reasonable proximity of the present budget, we must either increase income from taxes to make up the difference, or engage in debt financing. Neither course is to be desired. The only alternative is a reduction in other expenditures." The "only alternative" is the one Congress accepted.

The 80th Congress appropriated the largest sums for armaments in our peacetime history, but failed to provide for aid to education, adequate social security, health, or housing. There is very little profit in them.

[6] March 19, 1948.
[7] *Washington Daily News*, January 9, 1948.

One who has experienced physical imprisonment tells what it means for prisoners of conscience.

A Primer for Prisoners of Conscience

By FRANCIS D. HOLE

A SERIOUS ATTEMPT to do what is right, regardless of personal sacrifice involved, is a serious attempt to trust what is good in oneself. A person who reveres the good in himself reveres the good in all men and weakens the evil.

A search after righteousness is sure to bring a man or woman into strange and difficult circumstances. A seeker after present goodness may fall suddenly into disgrace and persecution.

Prisoners of conscience who suffer imprisonment of the body and bondage of the mind and spirit pay a price for their earnest and unconventional search after freedom.

What We Leave

Love and hope are pearls of great price. We are interested in knowing just what that price is. What are the things we leave, when we become prisoners of conscience?

We leave home, friends, social approval, good food, good clothing, freedom of the body, ease of mind, and many natural human relationships. We bid farewell to the security of regular association with family and friends. We miss the steadiness of a significant daily routine. We leave the countless little things that have pleased us and have propped up our lives: the work, the home, the grocery, the barn, the post office, the restaurant, the church, the buses, the papers, the radio programs.

We are denied assurance of a promising future, either for ourselves or for mankind.

We are shorn of responsibilities.

What We Endure

We endure suspense. We wonder what may happen next to improve our chances for freedom.

We are like wild flowers transplanted to a dark basement; or like animals caged; or like beasts of burden; or like vegetables canned, numbered, and put on shelves.

We endure a loneliness, a nakedness of spirit. Each person endures himself, and reaches out as in darkness, terrified lest he find no security in himself or others.

We endure the impersonal treatment of a public agency, which is a tenacious, fearful, cruel, although perhaps well-intentioned custodian.

What We Are After

We are after peace of mind and spirit, which comes only from doing God's will, or at least what we feel sure to be right for us in our condition. We are also after bodily comfort, insofar as that is possible.

We wish to be mature persons,

responsible for our actions. We need stabilizing perspective, so that the cruelty of one segment of ourselves and of society will not overshadow the loving kindness which we also know.

We wish to experience our conviction that when a person is snatched up, like a fish out of water, he can learn a new way of life. We are ready to realize through practice that love and hope and peace lie like seeds in our hearts and can grow even in prison. We wait prayerfully for the moments when our wills consent to let God operate in us.

We need to find out that love knows no fatigue, even though the body does faint, and the mind does waver, and the spirit does droop.

We want to know through personal struggle and growth that there is a security in ourselves which is given us from the beginning and that it is sufficient for all eventualities.

We wish to have faced the worst that we thought could befall us, and to have found finally that there is adequate power in us, awaiting release each day.

Conclusion

We cannot live apart from our fellow human beings. Therefore we cannot hold our peace when we witness a flagrant denial of the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God. We may be punished for our stand by rude and prolonged separations from our own people. God strengthening us, we can gain through this experience a perspective which will enable us to make life meaningful for us and others.

We can endeavor, during the long time of waiting, to perfect ourselves and to make each day significant. This is the most difficult task of all.

On the eve of departure, we are eager to live fully. During incarceration we know the hunger, the thirst, and the mourning of the Sermon on the Mount. When we finally return, we are eager to learn to take up life once more, with hope and with new insight.

Stone Walls and Iron Bars . . .

COs are going to prison again, only three years after the end of another war to preserve freedom. They should be prepared for—

JAIL. (Or Federal Detention Headquarters.) Before and immediately after sentence. The initial shock of fright and homesickness comes here, and there are some bad days and sleepless nights ahead. Absorbing new experiences, though, will help to occupy the apprehensive mind.

PRISON—QUARANTINE. The new inmate is segregated from the rest of the population for the first thirty days, and this is the toughest time of all. Often a man will have to spend 22 hours of the 24 locked in a cell, with little to read, no one to talk to, and no other means of passing the time.

PRISON—IN POPULATION. After quarantine, the new convict moves into general population, which is much easier. Life takes on a routine, and the moments of despair and self-pity are less frequent. And if a man learns to live each day as it comes, fully and without worry about the future, the time passes more easily than seemed possible in Quarantine.

Lucky People

By WALTER GAUPP

Translated from the German by Margaret Rusk White

IT WAS a quarter before six. Karl slid his hand quickly out of the blankets and down to the floor to shut off the rattling bell before it should wake up his wife and children. Formerly the old clock had been used to waken the maid, but now, of course, each person had to be his own maid and errand boy and handy man. A tiny fashionable clock had stood on the night table between the twin beds, but, in spite of its elegance, it had not managed to survive the crises of the war. Anyway, it would certainly have resented having to sit on the floor, which was the only place for a clock in this crowded room. You could scarcely slip sideways between the beds, much less find space there for a night table.

Karl groped about with his feet for his two unlike bedroom slippers—one still from the original pair, and the other as close a mate to it as his mother had been able to piece together for him at Christmas. He squeezed out between the beds, fumbled for his clothes on the railing of Hans-Peter's crib, and felt his way cautiously toward the steep stairs leading directly down from the open archway of the bedroom.

He would not have turned on the light in any case, for fear of waking the children, but he had no choice in the matter. The bulbs in both bedrooms had burned out months ago and there were no new ones to replace them. Light bulbs were not even on the list of rationed goods, and people would only have laughed at him if he had gone into a store and asked for one in anything louder than a furtive black-market whisper.

A partial solution had turned up a few days before when a factory worker named Keller had asked Karl if he could arrange with some farmer for an exchange of light bulbs for potatoes. Karl had approached his old school friend Brendel about it, and had proposed an exchange at the rate of four light bulbs for 110 pounds of potatoes. In all, Brendel was to get a dozen bulbs for 330 pounds of potatoes, he and Keller each giving Karl one bulb for arranging the transaction. If the deal went through, then, it would mean light bulbs for the two bedrooms. The basement would have to remain dark.

Karl stood over the stove, debating whether he really ought to make a fire or whether breakfast could be cooked on the electric hot plate today. Probably he ought to save electricity, since the lighting had almost used up their ration, but maybe he should think about economizing on wood and coal, too. And paper. And matches. At any rate, there did have to be heat of some kind. The noon meal could be cooked immediately after breakfast and then be kept warm in crocks. That way, the family could get along without a fire from ten

in the morning till near suppertime.

Thank goodness they had not had to skimp so during the severe part of the winter. Lots of people who were not so lucky had had to get along with only a few hours of heat each day during even the coldest months. But Karl had worked for Brendel at harvest time and, in part payment, had received a wagonload of brushwood. Even now, at the beginning of spring, part of it still stood like a little thicket behind the house.

Karl lifted the lid from the wavering, three-legged stove and picked over yesterday's cinders, saving all those that could possibly be burned further, before brushing the feathery ashes off the grate. Dry brushwood lay back of the stove, and under it were two solid, dry beech logs. When Karl reached into the newspaper rack beside the oven, though, he found only the last issue. As usual, all the others had already been burned or otherwise used up. The newspaper came out only twice a week and was just a single large sheet folded in half, so it did not last long. But luckily there was straw in the storeroom. So Karl hurried around the house to the storeroom, brought back a handful of straw, and got the fire going.

While Karl had been out getting the straw, Anna had come downstairs to prepare the breakfast. She was trying to set the table, but without making any more headway than usual. After all, when there are only eight plates in a family of seven people and the supper dishes have not been washed because there was no hot water left after the children had been bathed and put to bed, no one, no matter how good a housewife, can find more than one plate in the cupboard the next morning. The plate with the big crack was usually the one left over, because you were always fearful the soup would leak through it or that you might suddenly be left holding only half a plate in your hand. Almost all the other plates and cups were nicked —in every sort of shape and design —but at least they seemed safer to eat from.

If one of their friends from across the ocean had happened in and seen the table, with its chaotic array of colors and chipped designs, he would certainly have turned away shuddering. That is, if he had not been too astounded by the sight of ladles and soup plates on a German breakfast table to shift his gaze. Had people who had not been able to have their usual plain breakfast of coffee, bread, and jam during the war substituted a more luxurious one for it now?

But soup was the only nourishing food they could prepare on the rations they had. Butter regularly for breakfast was out of the question. Anna had to stretch the "children's butter"—each person had his own butter on his own little plate (one ounce for grown-ups, three and a half ounces for children, per week)—so that at least the bread they took along to school would have a little butter on it. As for getting some nourishment from sausage or cheese, one and three-quarter ounces of sausage and a fraction of an ounce of cheese were the full extent of the daily ration for the family, and that much certainly could not be divided up onto seven pieces of breakfast toast. Besides, the meat and sausage rations for the past week had failed to materialize at

all. So they were lucky to have got 220 pounds of turnips from Brendel and other farmers during the harvest last fall. The turnip sauce they made out of them—or turnip-kraut, as people here in the country had called it—was the only spread they had for the bread. It was neither delicious nor elegant, but it was better than dry bread alone.

As for the weekly half-pint ration of thin milk—gracefully referred to as "fresh skimmed milk" in official bulletins—you would almost have had to measure it out a drop at a time if you had wanted to consume only one-seventh of it each day. Luckily Hans-Peter was not yet four years old, and so he got a pint of whole milk daily. Anna had to stand guard over it like a mother bear to keep the other children from taking surreptitious "tastes" of it. Hertha sometimes said wistfully that she would like to be Hans-Peter's bib when he was eating his thick gruel so that she could soak up any stray droplets of milk. To hear that grieved Anna even more than the privation hurt Hertha.

So, as usual, Anna made the hot soup for breakfast, putting a little grease and flour in a saucepan, then stirring water into the flour, and a pinch of salt. A plate of that did not taste too bad sopped up with dry bread!

Meanwhile, Karl had time to get washed and dressed in the kitchen. The cooking, actually, was not done in the kitchen any more, but in the living-room. Since they could keep only one fire going during the winter, it seemed to work out best to make the living-room, with its southern exposure, the one comfortably warm room in the house, and so the range had been moved in there early in the fall.

As a result, you hardly knew which room to call by which name. Was the kitchen the room with the cupboard and the only water faucet in the house, where the dishes and vegetables were washed and the food was mainly prepared; or was the place where the cooking was done, the former living-room, actually the kitchen? To add to the confusion, Karl had rescued the grand piano from its storage place and, since the stove had usurped the piano's space in the living-room, the piano had had to ensconce itself in the kitchen. The children had suggested all sorts of names to cover the unique situation: "musical pantry," "concert kitchen," "cooking parlor," "stewing salon." But habit had proved stronger than fancy; and so, even though, strictly speaking, neither term fitted any more, the two rooms generally were called by their regular nomenclatures.

In the "kitchen," then, as usual, Karl was filling up the battered enamel washpan that took the place of a lavatory and preparing to shave. He had just lathered his face when Hertha arrived to get washed and dressed beside him. At the same time, Anna was climbing up to the cupboard, reaching over their heads for dishes, and climbing down again. But no one thought anything about the unconventional conglomeration of ages, sexes, and activities. They had all long since given up wishing for privacy or elbowroom.

Before sitting down to breakfast, Karl took yesterday's potato peelings out to the rabbits in the shed. The sun was climbing up over the roof of the farmhouse across the meadow as he opened the back

door and its first bright, friendly rays gleamed through the branches of the oak in front of him. He had to stop a moment and listen to the excited twittering of the birds, the first to be house-hunting in the tree this spring. An unexpected feeling of happiness swept over him as he paused there, quite forgetting for the moment the hungry rabbits in the shed and the dingy pot of refuse in his hand. The severity of the long winter had at last broken.

In the summer he might still have to hurry down to the rabbits' pen with the grubby collection of vegetable peelings and still have to get up early and go to bed late—later, probably, even than in the winter, since every foot of ground in the garden would have to be intensively cultivated during the daylight hours. But at least no one would have to grope around any more for shoes and clothes in the mornings, or get dressed elbow to elbow with the rest of the family in the kitchen. Hertha and Margot would be able to have some privacy in the airy attic under the rafters, and their bedroom could be available for a possible guest—they were downright boastful about their "summer guest room"—or as a retreat for serious study.

Karl filled his lungs with the cool, sunlit air and looked up into the branches of the tree. Already things were not as bad as they had been. At night you did not have to drag the children out of their beds to stumble, gasping and heavy-eyed, through the darkness to a bomb shelter. In the morning you did not have to gaze at new ruins and encounter faces newly twisted with grief for the dead. The country was no longer being ravaged by plundering hordes, nor were men being torn from their families to go to war. Friendship between people in different countries had survived even the hate of armies and governments at war, and friends across the ocean had sent them gift packages of food and clothing—had saved their health and even their lives with things not available here except on the extortionate black market.

Karl knew they were lucky. There were hundreds of thousands of people to whom this low-roofed bungalow would have looked like a palace—people who were lodged on peasants' farms as unwelcome intruders or sharing one room in a bomb-scarred city tenement with three other families. No wonder people envied Karl and Anna and Hertha and Martin and Margot and Hans-Peter and Grandmother, all living safely together. Even three years after the end of the war, many people did not know whether their fathers and husbands and sons were wasting away in some distant place, yearning for their families at home, or whether they were lying cold and forgetful under the ground long since. How unimportant all the daily annoyances and inconveniences seemed in comparison with such things, which were real cause for grief and anxiety!

As Karl and Anna had often told themselves, they did not have to have luxuries to indulge in; so long as they could work and laugh and sing with their children, they still had reason enough to be thankful to God and mankind. Even in these days of greater privation than they had ever dreamed of, Karl knew that he and his family were very lucky people.

We Are All Fellow-Travelers

By MILTON MAYER

There is something unbeautiful and, I think, unchristian, in the current stampede to avoid the taint of communism. While we Christians are in the very act of retching at the spectacle of ex-Communists turned informers, we ourselves are so effusive in our repudiation of Communist works and workers that I cannot help but ponder the secret delight of J. Parnell Thomas as he sees his terror sweeping through our ranks.

A case in point is our failure to rally—kind words, and then hurry on—in defense of the men who have refused to answer the impudent question, Are you a member of the Communist Party? When any committee or any court can ask a man that question, democracy is threatened. When it can ask him the question under duress, democracy is tottering. When it can imprison him for his refusal to answer it, democracy is dead. When the secrecy of the ballot is gone, free government is gone with it.

But we Christians are, as far as I know, in no particular lather to protect this sacred secrecy for those we hate. And I did not see, during the last war, that we Christians were as avid as the *Chicago Tribune* in trying to protect the sacred rights of the alleged pro-Nazis caught in the infamous dragnet of the Great Sedition Trial. I detect, especially with reference to the Communist issue, a kind of diffidence unbecoming Christianity. I think we are trying to avoid trouble with J. Parnell Thomas, and I think that being in trouble with J. Parnell is the indispensable condition of being a Christian.

The Wallace campaign was a case in point, too. I would not have voted for Agard for dog-catcher, because he is, as Pegler said, bubble-headed. In addition, and much worse, he is, like Pegler, a lifelong exponent of theft and murder, capitalism being organized theft and war being organized murder. But there was something about the Christian stampede from Wallace that reminded me, uncomfortably, of the stoning of the harlot, or, more politely, of the Pharisee and the publican. It wasn't that we didn't want to *be* with Wallace—though that, too, was the case—so much as that we didn't want to be *seen* with him. He was tainted, and we were afraid to touch him with anything more sensitive than a rock.

But Wallace went South and did what Norman Thomas should have done—and what Christ did in Jerusalem. I am sure that, being Christians, we applauded him. But first we locked the door and drew the blinds. Or we said he was doing the right thing for the wrong reason, the reason being, consciously or unconsciously, to make converts to Soviet communism. The fact that he was stoned—while we are not—did not persuade us that we should be being stoned too; that Wallace, for all any of us knows of his secret heart, was being persecuted for Christ's sake; and that prophets were promised us, "some of whom ye shall kill and crucify; and some of them shall ye scourge in your

synagogues, and persecute them from city to city."

You will ask whether I am saying that a bubble-headed exponent of capitalism and war can be a prophet, and I will reply that I am not. But I will add that when prophets are sent us we will call them bad names such as I have called Wallace. If prophets did not look like bubble-heads, we would not crucify them. If they were not associated with harlots and publicans, we would not kill them.

Stockpiling Denunciations

In our avidity to dissociate ourselves from Communist principles and policies, we find ourselves borrowing from, and even building, the stockpile of random, general, and inflammatory denunciations whose exploitation by the Deweys and the Dulleses has the consequence, if not the purpose, of setting the world on fire and destroying our own liberties along with the lives of the Russians. It is no truer that *Communists* as such are ruthless materialists than it is that Republicans, Democrats, or Baptists are. It is no truer that a *Communist* is a man without morals than it is that a stockbroker is. It is no truer that *Communists* are bent on destroying our liberties than it is that we, in building conscript armies, are bent on destroying our own. It is no truer that a *Communist* is a person for whom the end justifies the means than that Abraham was a Communist when he offered up his son to the Lord.

And terms like *sympathizer, fellow-traveler,* and *front,* all of which we Christians use, are nothing but catch-alls to bring to the torture men and women who beg politely to differ from William McKinley. I glory in Karl Marx's advocacy of the abolition of child labor; I am therefore a Communist sympathizer, and in advocating the abolition of child labor I am a fellow-traveler and a front.

"Oh, but we don't mean that. We mean people who are conspiring to overthrow our free government." Well, sir, child labor is one of the pillars of our free government, and so, speaking of pillars, is the cement industry, whose members submit identical bids (even unto the fourth decimal point) on public works. I am against them both. To the rack with me.

"Oh, but we don't mean you. We mean treacherous people." The people you persecute are always treacherous people. Why else would you persecute them? You wouldn't have persecuted the old men and women of Hiroshima if they hadn't been "treacherous Japanese," would you have? What you mean when you talk about "treacherous people" is what Hitler means when he talks about "Jews"; what you mean is that you are a fool in your heart who constructs a succession of devils in order to justify his destruction of a succession of devils' disciples.

My friend, it is not *Communists* you denounce, but men; men who, when, like the rest of us, they commit enormities, commit them for purposes no ignobler than our own. And it is not *Communists* whom you persecute now and murder a year from now, but men; men who want no more of other people's lives, liberties, or property than you do or I. He who says, "A Communist is . . . " is about to lie, and is already an accessory before the fact of persecution and murder.

Our avidity to dissociate and denounce betrays our own lack of faith, our own lack of purpose, our

own lack of eagerness, and our own lack of love. The fact that tiny Communist minorities *capture* organizations or causes means only that they believe and we don't. They will continue to capture organizations and causes—*and the world*—as long as they believe and we don't. And if we would convert them to the truer faith, we would associate with them continuously.

Still Suspect

Why don't we? Because we want to *look* like good Americans. Because we want to keep our skirts, rather than our hearts, clean. Because we want to be effective "on the Hill." But, for all our running for cover, we are still suspect, stigmatized, and unpersuasive. Why, then, bother to run for cover? Our refusal to associate with Communists, lest they hurt our cause, doesn't help our cause. And, as Harold Chance pointed out on a memorable occasion, while we are insisting that our government find a way to work with the Communist government, we ourselves are insisting that there is no way for us to work with the Communists.

In abandoning love—love embracing our enemies, not quarantining them—we abandon hope. The recent FELLOWSHIP writer who answers, "No," to the question, "Is it possible to win a Communist away from his fanatical support of a totalitarian movement?" has given the answer that the slaveholders gave to the question, "Is it possible to win a Negro away from shiftlessness?" It says that a Communist is born a Communist and can't be changed and has got to be shunned. If he refuses to stay shunned, he has got to be murdered. It is the same doctrine of despair that the Marshalls and the Dulleses and the Niebuhrs proclaim on a grander scale, and it is unholy.

An association injurious to his reputation or his fortune is the last thing a Christian can afford to avoid. And there is no way to avoid such associations, anyway. These Budenzes and Chamberses—are they any better off, having dissociated themselves from the Communists, now that they are associated with the J. Parnell Thomases? If a man insists upon choosing between injurious associations, I say that there is a prima facie case for associating with Communists rather than with J. Parnell.

If, as it does, immediate political success depends on avoidance of injurious association, we may find, as Socrates found long ago, that a man cannot be both a politician and a Christian in an unchristian world. But we can renounce politics at will, while we can renounce Christianity only on the pain of everlasting death. If our organizations and movements will not succeed even with Communists excluded—as witness the anti-conscription fight—then let us go down like Christians, embracing and, by embracing, converting the heathen Communists, who, with their fanaticism properly directed, may have more success than we have had in converting the heathen Americans.

When we stop being amazed at the fact that politics does not always accommodate religion, we will, when we have to, choose between the two and choose the one without which we cannot live either here or hereafter. And then we will stop writing articles which are reprintable in their entirety by Hearst, articles such as "Beware the Common Front!" in the September FELLOWSHIP. Do not misun-

(Please turn to page 23)

News from the Peace Front

Anti-Draft Demonstrations—Non-Registrants Picked Up

First CO Sentenced

In the first conviction of a CO for refusal to register under the Selective Service Act 1948, Ralph E. Cook, 19, of Portland, Maine, was sentenced to two years in prison by Federal Judge John D. Clifford, Jr. on September 28. Cook is a sophomore at Earlham College and a pre-divinity student, but the judge called "quite irrelevant" the fact that he would have been exempt if he had registered. He added significantly, "The act of registration is the keystone of the system devised by Congress."

Stuart Zane Perkoff, 18, was arrested on September 22 in New York City for refusal to register, after himself reporting that fact to the FBI. On September 24 he was arraigned before Federal Judge Edward A. Conger, who sent him home for a week to think it over. The Judge said "He's too young to have ideas. He's only a baby, but these young men who are going away today are only babies."

Lynwood Dodge of Madison, Wisconsin, was picked up earlier than either of the others, and released on $500 bail until his trial. Dodge is still on parole from a five year sentence under the wartime Selective Service Act, and the sentence will not terminate until December. However, his parole board apparently does not intend to take action on the basis of his present non-registrant stand.

According to the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, Peacemakers, and the War Resisters League, 48 men are definitely known to have taken the non-registrant stand in the present draft. Since there are certainly a number of non-registrants who are not known as yet, this means that the total number must be somewhat higher than that.

N. Y. Pickets Arrested

On September 18, the last day of registration, fourteen people were arrested in New York for anti-draft picketing, on charges of endangering the public peace, under a New York State law passed in 1917. On September 27 in court the charges were dismissed. The judge didn't think they had been endangering the public peace, but told them that "some day someone is going to knock one of your heads off."

Among the fourteen were seven non-registrants, six of them of an age to fall under the present Act. They were Sander Katz, Robert H. Peters, James G. Neuhauser, Evan Herman, Newton Garver 3d, Robert White, and Wilbur Rippy.

Boston Secretary Mobbed

In Boston, as was mentioned briefly in October FELLOWSHIP, the draft picketing was surrounded by stormy incidents. On August 30, the first day of registration, Lowell Cantrell, Boston FOR Secretary, Myrtle Worthy, Mary Bacon Mason and Isidore Leavitt, all FOR mem-

bers, picketed the Armory where registration was taking place with signs and leaflets advising non-registration, and after about an hour a crowd gathered which soon began to throw eggs and tomatoes and to tear up signs and leaflets. Police arrived and ordered pickets to leave, arresting Cantrell when he did not, but his case was dismissed when it came up.

On September 1 Cantrell, George Carpenter and Myrtle Worthy again returned to the Armory to picket. They were met by a crowd of nearly 500 and a battery of photographers and reporters, who were obviously expecting violence, and after less than an hour of picketing it broke out. Signs and leaflets were grabbed and destroyed, and some of the mob attempted to carry Cantrell and Carpenter away from the Armory. They sat down in front of the entrance, much to the surprise of the crowd, and in spite of a few kicks and many verbal threats, remained there. Police came some time after this and, after they failed to move, arrested them. Cantrell and Carpenter were fined $20 each, and their cases are being appealed.

On Tuesday, September 7, Cantrell, Stanley Keyes and Thomas Brooks (the latter two being non-registrants) returned to the Armory with new signs and more leaflets, expecting again to meet the hostile crowd. Instead there were sixteen policemen, who kept people moving on both sides of the street, so that no violence occurred. Picketing on September 13 and September 17 was also peaceful.

Pickets in Puerto Rico

In Puerto Rico the newly-founded FOR group under the leadership of Lillian and Bob Pope picketed three schools in San Juan during registration, and passed out 12,000 copies of a handbill in Spanish urging men to refuse to register or to register as COs. Several stories appeared in the newspapers about the demonstration, some sympathetic and some hostile, and the FBI took the names of the pickets and took pictures of them, but so far no action has followed.

In answer to advertisements run in the papers before the opening of registration and to the publicity received on account of the picketing, 35 people have visited the FOR office or written in for information, all of them Puerto Ricans.

Between August 20-25 a considerable amount of literature, most of it in English and including the Statement of Purpose and the Call to American Christians of Draft Age, was passed out at the University of Puerto Rico in Rio Piedras. On the last day of college registration for classes a student came to find the Popes, to tell them that the president of the student body had appointed a committee to offer them the assistance of many of the students in making posters, handing out literature, picketing, or anything else that might be helpful.

MAYER . . . . *continued*

derstand me. I am not saying that because a particular truth is palatable to Hearst it should be unpalatable to us. I am saying only that we have a better witness to bear than Hearst's, that our mission is not so slight that we can take time to perform his, and that the business of a Christian is not night-riding, but love.

IFOR Council Meets in France

In July, 1948, the International FOR held its first Council meeting since that of Stockholm in March, 1946, as 24 people from eleven countries gathered at Le Chambon, France. Representatives of the United States were Claud Nelson, George Hogle and Howard Schomer. Nevin Sayre, Chairman of the IFOR, was there as well.

Unfortunately, in spite of vigorous efforts, only Asta Brugelmann could come to represent Germany and Austria, and no one was present from South America, India or China.

Several sessions were devoted to reports on the general situation in the various countries represented and about the work of the Fellowship in each of them. Although the more distant areas were not directly represented, Nevin Sayre, Muriel Lester and others were able to contribute a good deal of information about China, Japan and Latin America. The Chairman spoke of the crying need for the FOR in the great continent of Africa, where it has few if any members.

Considerable attention was paid to the subject of literature, for which there is still a tremendous need in Europe, in spite of a considerable amount from the United States, the revival of the German and French FOR papers, and a number of books and pamphlets translated and published recently. Emphasis was laid upon the need for up-to-date leaflets and pamphlets for inquirers, printed in various languages, and for a book about the IFOR in World War II.

A budget for next year of about $30,000 was adopted, provided the money was in sight before it was spent. This was considerably higher than the budget originally anticipated, because of the concern of the Council for wider and more active service. The budget includes grants to the five offices in London, New York, Le Chambon, Montevideo and Monterrey, Mexico, grants for work in Germany and Austria, for wider travel for Muriel Lester, Andre and Magda Trocme, Nevin Sayre, Antonio Loureiro and Francisco Estrello and for the gift parcels campaign among other things.

Officers elected included Nevin Sayre, unanimously re-elected chairman, Henri Roser and F. Siegmund-Schultze, vice-chairmen, Barrow Cadbury, treasurer, and Muriel Lester and Andre and Magda Trocme as traveling secretaries. Andre Trocme relinquished his pastorate of the church at Le Chambon on October 1 to devote his full time to the FOR.

Rustin to Visit Europe and Far East

Sailing October 1 on the Queen Mary for England, Bayard Rustin took off for a trip that will keep him traveling until the latter part of February, when he expects to return to this country.

He will go first to England, where he will have a brief vacation, after which he will begin a speaking tour there and on the Continent. He will then go to India as one of the representatives from the United States to the world pacifist congress to be held there in January, as well as to conduct a speaking tour in that country before coming home.

AFSC to Enlarge Unit in China

The American Friends Service Committee announced in September that it would send four additional doctors and three nurses to the Friends Ambulance Unit which has worked for six years in embattled China. The unit now consists of thirteen Chinese, fifteen Britishers, three New Zealanders and fourteen Americans, whose services have been acceptable to both Nationalist and Communist China, and who not only comprise a link between China and the West, but between the two parts of China, where they are allowed to cross the lines freely.

The AFSC says that the doctors and nurses who join the unit will have to live as the Chinese live, and that they cannot be partial to one side or the other. They will also be people who hold Quaker views toward war and peace.

During the past six years of its work in China the unit treated Chinese and Japanese battle casualties during the last war in the same wards; delivered medical supplies impartially to Nationalists and Communists; and today in Chungmou Hospital, treats Communist and Nationalist soldiers on an equal basis.

The American Friends Service Committee has its offices at 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Ex-CPS men assigned to Camp 100 and others who had wages placed in the U. S. Treasury's frozen fund will be interested to know that action in the U. S. Court of Claims is planned, to seek recovery of these funds for the individual assignee. Please send details of your case to the Workers Defense League, 112 East 19th Street, New York City 3.

British CO Gets Three-Year Sentence

Eighteen-year-old Peter Green of Plaistow, London, recently received a sentence of three years in prison for refusing to register under Britain's National Service Act, its peacetime conscription law.

The Headmaster of Plaistow Grammar School, where he was to have entered for the School Certificate Exam this year, is reported to have circulated a letter to parents in the neighborhood, stating the facts in the case and inviting them to take appropriate action; and many liberal organizations have protested the severity of the sentence.

Peter Green told the court that he believed the conscription act would lead to war, and he could therefore not support it. He said that if military training was really what the majority of the people wanted, volunteers would fill the Forces.

Relief Funds from Handiwork Sale

An extremely useful and effective way of raising money for European and Asiatic relief has been worked out by M. Imogene Sanborn, 2545 Valentine Avenue, New York 58, New York. The sale of handiwork donated for the purpose brings in funds which go for badly needed relief to the Foreign Section of the AFSC. If you knit, sew, crochet, paint or work in leather, give one of the products of your hands to the sale. If you are not a handicraftsman any gift which can be sold will be gratefully received by Miss Sanborn.

Jottings

The Rev. Leyton Richards of England, one of the founders of the FOR and later its general secretary in Britain, died on August 22 at his home near Reading, England. He did great service during World War I in marshaling Christian pacifist opinion and serving the needs of COs. He said proudly that he had been "fined £100 under the Defence of the Realm Act for refusing to mix Christianity and war."

* * *

The Goethe Prize of the City of Frankfurt for 1948 has been awarded to Fritz von Unruh, author of *The End Is Not Yet,* who spoke at the FOR National Conference in 1947. The Prize is given annually in recognition of outstanding literary and humanitarian achievements, some former winners being Albert Schweitzer, Sigmund Freud, Thomas Mann and Gerhart Hauptmann.

* * *

Cecil Hinshaw announced his resignation, effective June 1, 1949, as President of William Penn College. He intends to devote his time to writing and lecturing.

* * *

On October 2, Gandhi's birthday, a Gandhi shelf was initiated in the Des Moines Public Library, with over twenty books by and about him. The books were donated by the Des Moines FOR group, which intends to add to the collection from time to time. Each book contains an appropriate bookplate to honor the Hindu leader.

* * *

Milton Mayer of the Great Books Foundation and FELLOWSHIP will lead a two-week philosophy seminar each semester at William Penn College, centered around a selected list of great classics.

* * *

The American Friends Service Committee has recently sent out to interested persons a Guide for parents and teachers who use it *Newsletter for Boys and Girls.* The Guide and the *Newsletter* tell of relief projects carried on by children and their parents and teachers in this country and of the distribution of food, clothing and toys to children in other countries.

* * *

Church World Service, the interdenominational Protestant relief agency, reported that during the first eight months of 1948 it shipped over 30,000,000 pounds of supplies abroad. Among its recent shipments were 34 prefabricated aluminum buildings to be used as churches and mission homes in Japan.

TILL DEATH US DO PART. By Charles Wesley Amlin. Introduction by Carey McWilliams. Proposes completely new marriage law. With unconventional discussion of the religio-sexual. Send $1 to Camden House, 2026 Camden Parkway, South Pasadena, Calif.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 1406 East 40th Street, Seattle 5, Wash.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, Room 115, 213 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.

Books

Life and Death Issue

The Church, the Gospel, and War. A collection of essays, edited by Rufus M. Jones. Harper & Bro., 1948. 169 pp. $2.

A few weeks ago "a door opened in heaven" and through it the gracious spirit of Rufus M. Jones passed to the Everlasting Peace. How very much at home he will be in the fellowship of the Prince of Peace and of all the peacemakers of all the centuries!

One of his last legacies to a world that has received so much bounty from his discerning mind and warm heart, was this volume, *The Church, the Gospel, and War.* It is a final plea, to a world stumbling toward another devastating war, from one who believes that "war is absolutely and eternally morally wrong and utterly and flatly incompatible with the way of life Christ has revealed and Christianity has established." It is a persuasive plea, made with a deep understanding of the confusions in the mind of many sincere Christians, and with an intelligent respect for those who sorrowfully accept war as a sometimes bitter necessity, but with an uncompromising conviction that always the essence of Christianity is to commit one's self "and all this chaotic and shadowed existence of mankind to the wisdom and love and power of God."

Eleven men and one woman, Evelyn Underhill, have contributed to the writing of the book. England is represented by Canon Raven, H. H. Farmer, C. Paul Gliddon, Lawrence Housman, Edward Ingram Watkin, Percy Hartill; America by Roland H. Bainton, Charles W. Iglehart, Kenneth Scott Latourette, Kirby Page and Rufus M. Jones—a galaxy of names that ought to attract the attention and command the respect of all who are eager for light on the most crucial issue confronting the church.

Very often books with such multiple authorship leave one with a feeling that he has been studying a patchwork, a kind of crazy-quilt sewed together without rhyme or reason. But here there is a marvelous unity in variety. One lays the book down with genuine satisfaction in a case comprehensively stated and a cause winsomely and reasonably and convincingly presented.

The volume has two major divisions. The first, consisting of four chapters, is a manifesto of "The Christian Pacifist Faith." It is the clearest apologia in brief compass that it has been this reviewer's privilege to read. One by one the major difficulties are discussed and answers are given on the deepest levels of Christian fact, faith, experience, and dedication.

Canon Raven summarizes his po-

sition in a closing paragraph that might well be posted on every preacher's desk: "The pacifist is convinced that the faith of Jesus is universally valid, that the cross is the instrument of salvation, that by it alone is the koinonia, the communion and community of the Holy Spirit realizable, that he can only attain it by using means consistent with his end, that war is a denial of those means, a frustration of that end, that here and now spiritual resources are available, that they are in the long run the most potent factors in history, and that the urgency of the issue challenges every Christian to take the risk of an uncompromising rejection of war."

Not a "New Fad"

Percy Hartill's "Philosophy of Christian Pacifism" is a further and illuminating exposition of Canon Raven's faith in the adequacy of spiritual resources. Two sentences are particularly noteworthy: "Christian pacifism is not a new fad or a new philosophy: it is merely the application to a particular set of problems of the fundamental evangelical truth that Christ regards sinners as people to be saved, that God's power is adequate to the accomplishment of His will, and that the mode and quality of that power is revealed on Calvary. As soon as Christians begin to devote to evangelization the same thought and energy and money and enthusiasm and self-sacrifice which they are now so heroically devoting to the prosecution of war, they will find that there is no need to resort to violence to overcome 'the force' of evil men, for God will have transmuted it to good by the conversion of the sinners."

It is no disparagement of the other chapters in this section to say that this reviewer found the dis cussion of "The Christian an War" by H. H. Farmer to be th most satisfying. His modesty, h clarity, his full recognition of th difficulties involved in any consid eration of the place of force an compromise in the Christian life his luminous answers to three fun damental questions (1) Are w ever entitled as Christians to sa in advance what we will do or wi not do in certain hypothetical cir cumstances? (2) What is the rela tion of the use of force to a dis tinctively Christian dealing wit our fellow men? (3) What are th limits of those compromises wit evil which are admittedly force upon those who would walk th way of Christ in this sinful world i his critique of "the over-readine to argue on the basis of probab consequences and not enough c the basis of the intrinsic wickedne of war in the sight of God, and th necessity therefore of repudiatin it and taking the consequences such repudiation"; his plea for wider Christian witness against general economic framework whic is "essentially predatory"—a these have made even clearer one man why Paul Scherer recen ly declared Dr. Farmer to be one the most rewarding writers of ou time.

The Reviewer

Albert Edward Day is the minister of the Mt. Vernon Place Methodis Church in Baltimore and a member of the Board of Trabuco College. He was for a number of years in the First Methodist Church in Pasadena.

It is hoped that no reader of this review will assume that silence on the second section, "The Position of the Church" is due to any other reason than lack of space. Few who read the book will want to lay it aside until the last page is finished, and when they do, it will be with a deep sense of gratitude to Rufus Jones for having assembled in a volume of 169 pages the witness of so many distinguished spirits to their sublime faith in the way of Christ and their unalterable renunciation of the way of violence. Henceforth, one will be able with even greater conviction to say "no" when the gods of war beckon, and statesmen seek to persuade us that the very survival of the Church depends upon a military victory, and churchmen solemnly declare that "the law of love is not applicable to nations consisting in large measure of unconverted citizens." It is immensely invigorating to know that one who renounces war belongs to such a noble company of incisive minds and Christ-enthralled hearts.

ALBERT EDWARD DAY

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Are you interested in a history of C.P.S.?

Pathways of Peace

By LESLIE EISAN

is an accurate, objective account of that part of the Civilian Public Service program administered by the Brethren Service Commission.

The author, himself an assignee, neither defends nor condemns C.P.S. He simply tells the story—after months of painstaking research—of the men who came to Brethren camps, of Brethren motivations, of base-camp life, of the special projects and of the pattern of administration.

Pathways of Peace

$2.50 *480 pages Illustrated*

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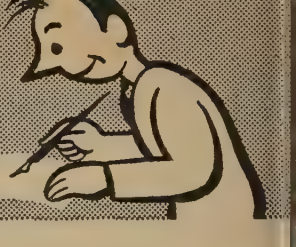

Mayer and the Scientists

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Mr. Mayer's article, "Vicarious Atonement," has two basic faults. It is stupid and totally inaccurate. For the record, nearly 80 percent of the scientists and engineers who originally worked on the Atom Bomb project have left, many of them, like myself, from a deep conviction that to carry on in this field is ridiculous in the face of the lack of social development in the world today. Dr. Urey himself has, I am sure, such a conviction. He has severed all connections with the project and is at present teaching elementary physics at Chicago to entering freshmen. After taking one look at the congressmen you helped to elect, this decision seemed a natural one to take. Never before has such meanness and stupidity been amassed to do a job that requires a real wealth of intelligence and feeling for humanity.

Actually, you should be extremely grateful that there were such men as Einstein and Urey who did play vital parts on this project. These men with their humanity and social consciousness are playing a vital part in arousing the world to the need for living in peace. It could just as easily have been perfected by Hitler (who came uncomfortably close) or some other such gangster, who would have used it to enslave the world. You cannot logically have any complaint against these men of science who have given you still one more chance, however slim it is, to preserve your freedom and democracy and time to find the answer to peace. Your fight should be directed against those men who use this industry of hate, murder and war for their own use. It is they who are the real enemies. And the Mayers and the Hasslers should spend more time trying to understand and fight the vicious social, political and quasi-religious forces that are driving us to war today, and not vent their ire upon Dr. Einstein, whose concept of one world follows more closely in the footsteps of Christ's teachings than anything offered to date by any religion.

War has never yet been prevented by simply shouting Murderer!! while sitting at home, at church or at pacifist meetings. You must do more than accuse—you must present *working answers.*

You cannot attempt to limit the horizons of science by saying we will develop only this and not that. By the very nature of things, what may appear harmless today can become deadly tomorrow. Science is very much like Christian ethics. It is a seeking of the truth. And if we argue that society has not learned to live with science, I have the distinct impression that it also has not learned to live with Christ. More people have been butchered and slaughtered in the name of Christianity than have ever been killed in the name of science.

I would suggest then that you and Mr. Mayer broaden your fight to include at least those willful men in society, industry and Congress who are not doing their part in preserving our world. And if you would cast scorn upon the scientist for discovering truths before the world is ready to receive them—at least be fair and cast some scorn upon the upright simian who walks and talks but who has

not yet learned the basic meaning of humanity—to place the welfare of others on a par with his own.

DAVID CARSEN,
New York City

P.S. Without attempting to descend to Mayer's level, I would suggest that any man who connects Einstein with fraud and deceit is fit only for the *rescue mission* and not quite ready to lead a great and worthwhile fight. And the editors of a magazine of this type should have some better measure for choosing articles. Might I suggest a little less fanaticism and a little more common sense.

* * *

In the September number of FELLOWSHIP there is a forthright article by Milton Mayer which lands some healthy punches where they belong. Perhaps some sensitive pacifist souls may wince at some of its language and even call it vituperative. Personally I don't find it so; the substance and manner of its expression are true and well-deserved. There are, however, two matters of detail that I would question and would appreciate the author's answer. Is he quite sure of the facts in classing Einstein and Urey together? My understanding of Einstein's part in the affair is that he simply gave his opinion, when asked, that it was theoretically possible to produce something in the nature of an atomic bomb, which—if that is all he did—was not fairly described as "thought up the bomb." The second question is why name Compton, Fermi and Urey and not include with them Oppenheimer and Vannevar Bush?

KENNETH RIPLEY FORBES
Philadelphia

Milgram and the Communists

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

One sentence in Morris Milgram's article "Beware the Common Front" particularly impressed me: "The lone liberal will find himself surrounded, and will discover at the end that he has wasted months or years which might have gone into constructive work."

The above describes perfectly the situation in which several of us found ourselves a few years ago when we attempted to work with some *Socialists*, Morris Milgram included, on establishing an American League for Puerto Rico's Independence.

Perhaps the Socialists were right in their views. But the devious and undercover tactics they employed in sabotaging our efforts to work for what *we* believed was right left me as disillusioned as those who have attempted to work with Communists. We, too, lost months that should have gone into constructive work.

MRS. ABRAHAM ZWICKEL,
Pismo Beach, California

* * *

Are the hundred thousand Communists in the United States so overpowering intellectually that they can play at will with the "unsuspecting liberals" as Morris Milgram would have us believe according to his article "Beware the Common Front" in September FELLOWSHIP?

If for reasons of "effectiveness" we restrict peace work to "respectable" groups, as Mr. Milgram suggests, how are we ever to gain mass support for peace—so needed to make peace effective? Should we not accept the help of all interested in peace and not insist that they accept our particular definition of pacifism?

The problem of getting along with objectionable minorities here and majorities elsewhere must be met.

We know of a problem just like those used as examples in this article. It was that of an interracial group. The "comrades" made trouble almost from the outset. They were a bad-mannered, ugly-talking, hard-working, late-staying contingent that finally wore down a considerable number of polite liberals who thought that revolutionary changes could be made in a couple of sweetly reasonable hours every Wednesday night.

As the liberal ranks thinned the comrades took over more and more authority and became more and ever more obstreperous. Then the remaining liberals decided that something extra had to be done and that they believed as strongly in their convictions as did the Communists. They started working harder and staying longer and finally won out.

The problem is not whether we shall work with the Communists or not. We must! The problem is to work with them and still maintain our democratic procedure and moral purposes.

DAN AND DORIS STANISLAWSKI
Havertown, Pa.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946

Of FELLOWSHIP published monthly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1948.

STATE OF NEW YORK } ss.
COUNTY OF NEW YORK }

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Alfred Hassler, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the FELLOWSHIP magazine and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily, weekly, semiweekly or triweekly newspaper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations), printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers, are:

Publisher—Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.
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ALFRED HASSLER, *Editor*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 17th day of September, 1948.

BURT H. FALL, *Notary Public*, State of New York
(SEAL) (My commission expires March 30, 1949)

Christmas Card 1948

In its Christmas Cards, the Fellowship tries to express the true meaning of Christmas as a significant observance, not just a mid-winter holiday. A medieval religious woodcut will appear on the front of the card.

The words inside the card were inspired by a queen of Poland in the Fourteenth Century. In spite of the passage of time and the changed face of the earth, they are as clearly meaningful today as they were then.

Queen Jadwiga of Poland

[1372 (?) - 1399]

Nor can that endure which has not
its foundations upon love.
For love alone diminishes not,
but shines with its own light;
Makes an end of discord,
softens the fires of hate,
Restores peace in the world,
brings together the sundered,
Redresses wrongs, aids all and injures none;

And whoso invokes its aid
will find peace and safety,
And have no fear of future ill.

THE CARD

A folder, 4 x 5½ inches, with space for a personal message, an envelope with each card.

12 for $1.00

THE CAUSE

As in past years, the proceeds from the sale of the cards will go to the FOR War Victims Fund.

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For Sale!

To mark the passing of the summer lull, a number of excellent new publica tions have come in from other publishers or been produced by the FOR. A the books and leaflets listed below are fall products, and merit the interes of pacifists and other thoughtful people.

Ape and Essence

Latest novel by Aldous Huxley, penetrating thinker and pacifist, in the form of satire showing the possible consequences of mankind's present suicidal course towa atomic war.

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The case for Christian pacifism by Leyton Richards, a founder of the FOR in Brita restated to meet the changing challenge of two world wars and to express t changing response of pacifism.

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A graphic and moving novelized account, by Sidney and Samuel Moss, of their expe ences in the Army in Africa, England and in the invasion of Europe. To be reviewed an early issue of FELLOWSHIP.

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5c each; 2c each in lots of five or more.

A New Revolution

By Pearl S. Buck

A moving address delivered at a memorial meeting for Gandhi, recalling his peculiar power and the need for his message in today's world.

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By A. J. Muste

A challenge to the gloomy theology of Reinhold Niebuhr.

We Tried the United Front

By Dorothy Detzer

A chapter from her recent book, telling the bitter experiences of the Women's Inte national League when they tried to coopera with the Communists.

Corporal Benny Speaks Up

By Alfred Hassler

Illustrated by Ed Nofziger

An interview with the Army's thirty-o year old carrier pigeon, satirizing the Arm mind.

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